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The DIVINE ORIGINAL and the SUPREME DIGNITY OF KINGS, No defensative against Death.

A SERMON, Preached the 22. February 168⅘ S. V. before the Right Worshipful the Fellowship of MERCHANTS ADVENTURERS of *ENGLAND*, residing at DORT, upon occasion of the *Decease* of our late most Gracious Soveraign

CHARLES II.

of ever Blessed Memorie.

BY
AUG. FREZER,
Master of Arts of St. *Edmunds Hall* in *Oxford*, and Preacher to the said Society.

Eccles. 8. 4. *Where the Word of a King is there is Power, and who may say unto him what dost thou?*

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To the moſt
ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCESSE
Her ROYAL HIGHNESSE

MARIE,

PRINCESSE OF GREAT
BRITAIN, AND
ORANGE.

MADAM,

THe deſigne of this Sermon being to poſſeſſe the minds of his Majeſties ſubjects, with ſuch a juſt and avv full ſenſe of the Divine Original, and Supreme Dignity of Kings as may keep them within the bounds of their Duty and Allegiance to their natural Soveraigne, Your ROYAL HIGHNESSE'S moſt Glorious Father now raigning, I have bin encouraged to make it publick: and ſince the Glorie of God, for which Your ROYAL

HIGHNESSE has so great a Concern, and the service of the Crown, to which You are so nearly related, and which ought to be the studie as it is the duty of everie true English-man, are the sole ends both of preaching and publishing it, I have taken the confidence in all humility to present it to Your ROYAL HIGHNESSE not out of any opinion of its worth, but as a testimonie of my loyalty and dutiful affection to my Prince, and of that profound veneration vvhich I have for those divine Excellencies, vvherevvith God hath abundantly enrich'd Your ROYAL HIGHNESSE, and vvhich exact the utmost adoration that can be paid by one mortal to another, and vvhereby You are rais'd as much above others of an inferiour qualitie in the highest exaltation of everie vertue as You excel them in the High and Royal Dignity of Your Birth. This, MADAM, is the sense of all the world that have but so much as heard of

Your

Your ROYAL HIGHNESSE, and Your exemplarie Pietie, and conſtant attendance upon the publick worship of God, and humble demeanour at it, the regular and uninterrupted courſe of Your private Devotions, Your ſincere affection to the Church of England; Your Princelie Charity and Liberality to the afflicted, Your great Humility, Courteſie and Affability tovvards all, and vvhat ever is admired by the beſt men, or can render a Perſon Excellent and illuſtrious in the eyes of the vvorld, and vvhich shine forth every day more and more in Your ROYAL HIGHNESSE vvith a greater luſtre; all theſe shovv that the vvorld is not miſtaken in the high opinion it has of Your ROYAL HIGHNESSE, and that all that can be ſaid of Your Vertues and Perfections vvil come far short of the truth: and thoſe ſtrangers vvho have only heard of them by common report, vvhen they come to be never ſo little acquainted vvith the

truth of things, will be as much confounded, as the Queen of Sheba was when she came her ſelf and heard *the wiſdom of Solomon*, and ſavv the glory of his Court, there vvill be no more ſpirit left in them.

All theſe divine Graces and Diſpoſitions of the ſoul together with all other both moral and intellectual Accomplishments, whether natural or acquired that are any vvhere to be found among mankind, being united in Your ROYAL HIGHNESSE, and joyn'd to the Beauties and Perfections of a Bodie, fit for the Reception and Habitation of ſo heavenly a Gueſt, vvith a carriage and deportment compounded of Humility, Goodneſſe and Majeſtie, do at once qualifie Your ROYAL HIGHNESSE for the higheſt place in the Calendar of Saints, and to fill a Throne vvithout any danger or diminution to the Brightneſſe of Your Innocence. That Goodneſſe vvhich is ſo natural to all Your Auguſt Family, and of vvhich Your ROYAL HIGH-

HIGHNESSE has ſo great a ſhare forbids me to diſpare of Your HIGHNESSE's pardon for this great preſumption, or of Your favourable acceptance of this mean but ſincereſt Demonſtration of my being,

MADAM,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESSE'S

moſt humble and devoted Servant,

A. FREZER.

To

To the right Worshipful, the Fellovvship of MERCHANTS ADVENTURERS of ENGLAND,

In all the Places of their reſidence, and more particularly to that Part of it reſideing at DORT.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

THe uſual Apologie which is made by thoſe who are willing to appear in print, but would not be thought ſo; is either the importunity of Friends, or the commands of Superiours. Nothing of all this was the cauſe of publishing this Sermon. I was neither importun'd to it by Friends, nor commanded by Superiours, nor was I deſirous to be ſeen in print. But there were other more weighty reaſons which moved me to it. When I was ſpoak to, preſently after it was preached, by a very worthy and loyal perſon, to let it be printed, I rejected the

the motion, as being conſcious of the meanneſſe and careleſneſſe of the dreſſe, and other defects which tho they might paſſe well enough in the delivery, yet were unfit to come abroad in the world. But when I conſider'd the many virulent Libels that have bin lately ſcatter'd abroad, and tranſlated into ſeveral languages, that the poyſon might have more room to diffuſe its malignity to the dishonour of God, the ſcandal of Chriſtianity, the defamation of the beſt of Kings, to the ſtirring up of rebellion, and to the ſubverſion of all Government, by men whoſe immoralities and offences againſt God, and whoſe Treaſons againſt their Prince are of ſuch a prodigious magnitude that they deſpair ever of obtaining pardon, either from the one or the other, and whoſe crimes of all ſorts, they are perſwaded themſelves are *ſo great already, that they cannot be ſafe, but by attempting greater;* I thought I could not do a more acceptable piece of ſervice, at this juncture of time, to God, my Prince, and my native Country, than by publishing a diſcourſe, how mean ſoever, concerning the divine authority of Kings, the dignity and ſacredneſſe of their Perſons, and the unconditional obedience due to them from their Sub-

jects; which three points (upon which the safety of all Government depends) are so clearly proved and made so plain to every vulgar capacitie, that none can have any reason to doubt of the truth and certainty of what is here asserted; and which I make no question, but will leave such an impression of duty and loyalty upon the minds of all unprejudiced persons, and who are not obstinately resolved to be deceived to their own destruction, as will help to confirm all true Christians and good Subjects in the honour and respect which they have for their Prince; and to recover it where it has bin debauched, or corrupted by impious and anarchical Principles and Doctrines of men, who by their frequent resisting the truth and the convictions of their own consciences seem to be given over by God to strong delusions to believe a lie, and to a reprobate mind to do those things that are not convenient, being filled with all unrighteousness, and who (it is to be feard) have involved themselves in the sin against the Holy Ghost.

There is only one thing more which I shall ad concerning the Original of Power, which is the first point that is handled in the ensueing discourse; that what ever right the People

People have in the choice of their own ruler, in an elective Kingdom, it can never be proved that they came justly by it, * or that they can resume it into their own hands when ever they have once parted with it; but it is most certain they can pretend to no such right where the Crown is hereditarie and derived by a long and regular succession for many Generations, and by immemorial prescription in any one Familie, which is the state of the English Monarchie.

Upon these considerations I have thought fit to publish this Sermon, and have prefixt your names before it, thereby to testifie to the world your Eminent Loyaltie and Affection which you have alwaies shovved to your Prince, and to encourage others to follovv your example: and to give some demonstration of my gratitude for the particular obligations I have to your Societie, vvhich that it may at length be restored (by the favour and clemencie of our most Gracious Prince, (whom God long preserve) to its antient flourishing condition, and may for ever continue in the same to the Glory of God, the Honour

* Cum Valentinianus omnium suffragio eligeretur Imperator, & insignia Imperii susceperet, vociferantibus, militibus, ut alteram *sibi imperii* Consortem adjungeret: *Vestri quidem*, inquit, *Arbitrii fuit, Commilitones, ut me Imperatorem vestrum elegeretis, sed postea quam elegistis, id quod petistis, mei arbitrii est, non vestri. Et vos quidem tanquam subditos quiescere decet: me verò utpote Imperatorem, quid agendum sit spectare.* Sozom. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 6.

nour of the King, the Encreaſe of Trade, and the Renown of the English Nation, is the Prayer of,

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

Your Worships moſt faithful Servant,

AUG. FREZER.

The

The DIVINE ORIGINAL and the SUPREME DIGNITY OF KINGS,

No defenſative againſt Death.

PSALM LXXXII. 6, 7, 8. *I have ſaid ye are Gods, and all of you children of the moſt High: But ye ſhall die like men, and fall like one of the Princes. Ariſe ô God judge the earth, for thou ſhalt inherit all Nations*

IF a ſparrow which is ſold for leſſe than a farthing, or (which is of leſſe conſideration than a ſparrow) if a hair of our heads falls not to the ground without the direction of our Heavenly Father, then certainly the death of Kings, who are not only the Image of God after a more excellent manner than other men, but Gods themſelves, does not happen but by an extraordinary appointment, and without being attended with a train of unuſual conſequences in relation to the peace and welfare not only of their own Subjects, but of all the Nations that are round about them.

To pull down and to exalt, to plant and to root up Kingdomes, or to remove the Crown from one Head to another. as it is a Prerogative which God has aſſumed to Himſelf, ſo He never puts it in execution, but he gives ſome manifeſt tokens of his Kindneſſe or his Diſpleaſure againſt a People. And therefore when ever ſuch changes come to paſſe, the minds of men are fill'd, (as it were by a Divine and ſupernatural inſtinct) with different apprehenſions of fear or hope, of joy or ſorrow for the event, in proportion to the Benefits they have enjoyed, or the Evils they have ſuffer'd under the former Government, and which they are like to expect under that which ſucceeds. There was never any Prince ſo wicked or cruel but the miſeries that have enſued upon his Death or Removal, either for the want of an heir, or by the excluſion of him to whom the Right of ſucceſſion did belong, have given the Subjects abundant reaſon to lament his loſſe. But the death of a Juſt, a Wiſe, and a Merciful Prince is a Loſſe that is not to be valued, and can never be ſufficiently reſented, and ought to be lookt upon as an Argument that God is not very well pleaſed with that People who are more immediatly concernd in it. The conſideration whereof ought to humble them under the mighty hand of God for thoſe ſins which may have occaſion'd it, to ſee if by any means they may prevent the evils which they have reaſon to apprehend may be the effects of it.

This ſeemes to be the caſe at preſent of that Nation to which we belong. It has pleaſed God to deprive us of a King whoſe eminent Endowments gave him a juſt right to all thoſe titles which are uſually given either of courſe or out of compliment to other Princes. He might

might be truly ſtiled, as he was indeed, the Father of his Country, and the Nurſing Father of the Church amongſt us, and (which was his Antient and peculiar title) the Defender of the true Faith, and the Protector of all thoſe that were perſecuted for it. Whoſe Clemency, Juſtice. Wiſdom, and all other Vertues and Qualifications neceſſary in a Prince, were ſufficient to have procured him the love and veneration of the moſt ſavage and barbarous Nations, and which were juſtly admired by all thoſe Forreigners that ever had the Happineſſe to converſe with him, and who underſtood how to ſett a right value upon thoſe Divine Perfections that shined moſt conſpicuouſly in him, and which were not to be parallel'd by any other Prince in the whole world, ſo that it might truly be ſaid in relation to him, what † Hiram King of Tyre ſaid of Solomon, becauſe the Lord loved his People, he made him King over them: and then the natural conſequence that can be drawn from the loſſe of ſuch a Prince will be this, that becauſe God was angry with his people, therefore he hath taken him away from them: which is threatend by God, and is alwaies verified either in the violent or immature death of all Princes in general, and much more in the death of a good Prince: for ſo Samuel tells the People of Iſrael, that if they did wickedly they ſhould not only be deſtroyed themſelves, but God would deſtroy, and take away their King for their ſakes. And *the Breath of our noſtrills*, ſaid the Prophet Jeremie, *the Anointed of the Lord*, *is taken in their nets*, *or*, as the Septuagint render it, *is taken away for our ſins*. So that it is plain: God is many times provoakt to deprive a Nation of a good King for the wickedneſſe of his

† 2 *Chron.* 2: 11.

1 *Sam.* 12: 25.

Lam. 4: 20.

his People, who do not deſerve any longer to enjoy the Benefits of his happy Government. And whether we have not deſerved ſuch a deprivation will not be hard to judge, if we reflect upon the time paſt, and conſider how unthankfully we have abuſed our proſperity and all thoſe bleſſings which the Nation has enjoyed ever ſince the happy Reſtoration of our late Soveraign of bleſſed memorie: and above all how his greateſt and moſt unwearied Endevours to preſerve the juſt Rights and Liberties of his Subjects, and to maintaine the Religion by Law eſtablish'd have bin aſpers'd with groundleſſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions of Popery and arbitrary Government. And would it not be juſt with God to deprive us with our King of all thoſe bleſſings, and of that Government which have bin ſo ſhamefully abuſed and traduced by us. Certainly if things fall out otherwiſe, it is more than we deſerve or can expect, eſpecially when we conſider the endevours that have bin us'd to exclude the lawful Heir, our preſent Soveraign, from that Right to the Succeſſion which God and Nature had given him; who is now ſeated in the Throne in ſpite of his and the Kingdom's enemies, and who has it in his power (if his approved and his inſuperable Goodneſſe and Generoſity would give him leave) to reſent and revenge the Wrongs that have bin don him.

All theſe conſiderations may be ſufficient to let us ſee what reaſon vve have to be affected vvith a deep ſenſe of our ineſtimable loſſe, and of our ingratitude and other ſins vvhich may have occaſion'd it, and likevviſe of our Duty for the time to come. When Saul vvas ſlain vvho vvas none of the beſt Princes, David and the men

2 *Sam.* 1: 12, 18.

that

that were with him mourned and wept and fasted until even, and he composed a Lamentation over Saul, and commanded that the children of Israel should be taught it under the title of the Bow. And when King Josiah was slain, who was a good Prince, it is said, *All Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah: and the Prophet Jeremie lamented for him, and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an Ordinance for ever.* 2 Chron. 35: 24. which

Tears and sorrow and lamentation are a tribute to the law of Nature, and the Custome of all Nations seem to exact for the death of our Friends, and Relations, and Benefactours, and then much more for the death of Kings, especially of good Kings, who are our civil Parents, and to whose protection under God, we ow our lives, liberties, and our well-beeing: and it can hardly be supposed that they can have any true affection for his present Majesty, who are unconcernd for the Death of our late Soveraigne, and who do not give some demonstrations of their grief by the usual and solemne expressions of it.

We cannot better expresse the sense we have of our ingratitude for the blessings we enjoyed under the Government of the late King, than by showing ourselves more thankful and more dutyful in our carriage towards this; which that we may be the better enabled to do, is the principal designe of the words that I have made choice of upon this occasion, which represent to us the high dignity, and yet mortal condition of Kings, and the duty of Subjects towards them, *I have said ye are Gods, and all of you children of the most High: but ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the Princes. A-*

 rise

riſe ô God, judge the earth, for thou shalt inherit all Nations.

In the words may be obſerved three general parts.

I. Here is the character given to Kings by the Holy Ghoſt, *I have ſaid ye are Gods.*

II. Here is the frailty of their condition, that they are no more exempted from the lawes of death and mortality then other men.

III. Here is the duty of Subjects to their Princes in praying for them, implied in the laſt verſe, *Ariſe ô God, judge the earth, for thou shalt inherit all Nations.*

I. The firſt thing obſervable in the words, is the character given to Kings and other ſupreme Powers by the Holy Ghoſt which is that of Gods; which implies or denotes three things. 1. The Original. 2. The high Dignity and Sacredneſſe of their Office. And 3. the Benefits of their Government.

1. Kings are call'd Gods in reſpect of the Original of their Power, which is from God. This appears both from the expreſſe teſtimony of Scripture, and the account which is there given of the original of all Government, that it was immediately from God and Nature, and that for the forme, it was Monarchical.

I. It is plaine from the expreſſe teſtimony of Scripture both of the Old and New Teſtament, that the Power of Kings is originally from God: *By me Kings raigne*, ſaids God himſelf by the mouth of the wiſeſt King, *and Princes decree juſtice*, Prov. 8: 15. And the Apoſtle St. Paul ſpeaking of the higher Powers, and theſe Powers in thoſe dayes were Kings or ſingle Perſons, ſaids, *There is no Power but of God, and the Powers that are, are ordained of God, and to reſiſt the Power is to re-*

ſiſt

sist the ordinance of God, Rom. 13: 1. Indeed the Apostle St. Peter seemes to contradict this, when he calls the Power of Magistrates a humane ordinance, *Submitt your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake*; but this is to be understood only in respect of the Subject wherein this Power is lodg'd, which is man, because it is exercised by man, but not in respect of the original or the fountain of it, which is God only: and this will further appear.

1 *Pet.* 2: 13.

Κλῖσις ἀνθρωπίνη, Non ideo dicitur humana, quod sit juris humani, aut hominis hab.at authores, sed quia principatus ab hominibus, & in homines exercetur. Sic virga hominis dicitur quâ homines castigat Deus, 2 *Sam.* 7: 14. & tentatio humana quâ eosdem tentat. *Bochart. Epist. ad D. Morlaum.*

II. From the account which the Scripture gives of the original and first form of all Government which was that of Kings, and that it was from God. In the very beginning of the world, as soon as there were men in it, there was a power exercised by Fathers over their children, and an obedience and subjection due from children towards their Parents, and this power which Parents naturally had over their children extended to life and death; and was the same which the Magistrate now exerciseth over his Subjects, as appears by that law given to the Sons of Noah, *Genes.* 6: 9. *Whose sheddeth mans blood by man shall his blood be shed:* which synecdochically includes all the other parts of the regal Power according to that of the Apostle, where he saids that the Magistrate beareth not the sword in vaine. This power which was first confind to single families, and to the fathers of each family came by degrees afterwards to be enlarged over many families; and at last over Cities and whole Nations, either by the right of Primogeniture and inheritance, or as the head of each family pleasd to dispose of his Dominions to one or more of his children, or for want of children to others, or by the immediate appointment of God: and in pro-

ceſſe of time by the right of conqueſt where the warre was juſt; which are the only wayes approved of by God whereby power or dominion over others has bin preſerved; or can be legally acquired in the world.

After the Flood we know Noah was the Supreme Lord and Governour of the whole World, which he divided among his three Sons, Sem, Ham and Japhet, and the poſterity of each of theſe which muſt have bin very numerous, while they themſelves were liveing, ſeeing they lived ſeveral hundreds of years, were of neceſſity and by the law of nature ſubject to the heads of their families, and when theſe died they divided that part of the world which had bin given them by their father among as many of their ſons and grandſons as they thought fit; and theſe again did the like to their children; hence it came to paſſe that in the land of Canaan which was poſſeſs'd by the poſterity of Ham, thô it belong'd by the right of inheritance to thoſe of Sem, each City was governd by a particular Monarch, and the ſame was don in thoſe other parts of the world, which remaind to Sem and Japhet, when they died they divided their Dominions among as many of their children as they thought fit, allotting uſually the greateſt share with the Prieſthood to the firſt born, except there was ſome extraordinary reaſon for doing otherwiſe, which was likewiſe preached by their Succeſſours: ſo that the people had nothing to ſay for many ages in the choice of their rulers, but they were to be content and to reſt ſatisfied in thoſe whom God and the right of Succeſſion, or the will of the preſent Governour had or should ſett over them: and when this order which had but eſtablishd by God from the beginning, was broaken and Subjects

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began to rebel againſt their Princes and Superiours, then the confuſions that followed made way for the introduceing of tyranny, and of all the ſeveral formes of Government, diſtinct from Monarchy, that there are in the world: there being hardly any Commonwealth now in being or ever was, (except where the Prince has part with his right, or where the Government has devolved upon the people for want of a Succeſſour) which has not bin founded in rebellion and built upon the ruines of Monarchie and therefore whatever power the people any where exerciſe under any form of Government (except in the caſes above mention'd) in the deſignation and choice of their ſupreme Magiſtrate, has bin acquired merely by violence and uſurpation.

And agreeable to the Scripture is the account which has bin given by Heathen Writers of the firſt forme of Government, which *all unanimouſly agree to have bin that of Kings. Omnes antiquæ gentes Regibus quondam paruerunt*, ſaies Cicero: All nations of old times were ſubject to Kings, and ſo ſaies Halicarnaſſeus of all the Cities of Grece, that they were antiently under Kings, and ſo ſay Juſtin, Tacitus and all that ever writt of the original of any people, and of their Government. Indeed (*a*) Cicero and (*b*) Juſtin pretend, and others have taken it upon their bare word, that this kind of Government owes its original to the people's choice: *Quod genus Imperii* (ſaies Cicero) *ad homines juſtiſſimos & ſapientiſſimos deferebatur:* that it was conferred upon thoſe who were obſerved to be the moſt juſt and wiſe among the people: *Et ſpectata inter bonos moderatio* (ſaies Juſtin) *Reges ad hoc faſtigium Majeſtatis provehebat*, an approved moderation and diſcretion was that

(*a*) *De leg. lib.* 3. 1.

(*b*) *Lib.* 1. *in princip.*

which raiſed Kings to their height of Majeſty. But this a mere ſuppoſition without any manner of proof, nor is it capable of any unleſſe it be borrowed from Ovids Metamorphoſis, and that it can be proved there has ever bin a people who have had no Parents, but either ſprung out of the ground, like thoſe who came from the blood of the Giants, or the teeth of the Dragon, and theſe indeed might be all Levellers or fifth Monarchy men naturally: or elſe that the firſt founders of all nations dropt down from heaven immediatly and ſo formed themſelves into a Society, and pitcht upon kingly Government, as ſuppoſeing it the beſt and fitteſt to attain the ends they propoſed to themſelves by it. But it is not very ſtrange that they should all light upon one and the ſame form of Government, and that this form should be Monarchical? Beſides, if all power were originally in the people, and that naturally they are at liberty to chuſe their own form of Government, is it not very ſtrange they should not be ſenſible of it? Was ever any principle of nature ſo univerſally depraved and obliterated out of mens minds that they should never take notice of ſuch a thing, which is ſo much (as is pretended) their intereſt? except only at ſuch times when it is buzz'd into their heads by ambitious and deſigning men, who cajole the ſenſeleſſe multitude into a fooles Paradiſe, by telling them ſtrange ſtories and chimera's of power and liberty, till they have gott their turnes ſerved by them, and then all the reward of theſe poor Drudges at laſt, is to be condemn'd to the baſeſt ſervitude under the worſt of Tyrants.

But the conſequences of ſuch a ſuppoſition are ſufficient to show the folly and unreaſonableneſſe of it. If

the

the people were at liberty to alter the Government they live under at their pleaſure (for it is certain there will never want a ſufficient cauſe if they muſt be the judges) what a bleſſed world should we have? Juſt as it was when the Government was ſubverted upon the very ſame principles in the time of the late rebellion, when every shopkeeper ſett up for a Polititian, and thought himſelf wiſe enough to reform the Church, and to govern the Kingdom. This is one of Solomons grievous evils and not to be born, and for which the earth is diſquieted, for a ſervant when he raigneth, *Prov.* 30: 22. or when ſervants are ſeen upon horſes, and Princes walking as ſervants upon the earth, *Eccleſ.* 10: 7. But I have proved out of the Holy Scripture beyond all reaſonable contradiction, that there never was, no nor could be any ſuch thing as a free people in nature, or a people that were naturally at liberty to chooſe their own Government: but that they had a Government impoſed upon them by God, and that this Government was firſt paternal, and then regal or Monarchical. And if you deſire to be yet more fully ſatisfied concerning the bleſſed original of that form of Government (which ſome people are ſo mad after, and which they deſerve to be plagued with for their ingratitude) call'd a Commonwealth, Solomon (who knew as well the firſt beginnings of all Government, as Junius Brutus, Plato redivivus, and others of the ſame tribe) will inform you. *For the iniquity of a land,* ſaids that wiſe King, *many are the Princes thereof.* It is for the ſins of a people when God deprives them of their Government by a ſingle perſon, and ſetts up many to rule over them, *Prov.* 28: 2.

But

But thô kingly Government be the moſt antient form, and was inſtituted by God himſelf, yet this is not intended to prejudice or condemne all other formes that are now eſtablishd in the world: thô God may approve of ſuch changes after they have bin brought to a ſettlement and perfection, yet that will not excuſe thoſe who were the firſt authours and promoters of them. In all formes of Government there is a ſupreme Authority, which Authority is derived from God alone, and in that reſpect is the ordinance of God, and exacts an obedience, from all that are under it, and if it abuſes its power, is accountable only to God, and therefore they that reſiſt the Power reſiſt God, or the ordinance of God, and they that reſiſt shall receive to themſelves damnation. And to all theſe ſupreme Powers as well as to Kings, (thô to theſe laſt after a more eminent manner, and among theſe to the † evil as well as to the good, to Heathens as well as Chriſtians) it may be ſaid, *Ye are Gods.* And if God himſelf be pleas'd to ſay, *They are Gods, and all of them children of the moſt High*, (which is their patent under the great ſeal of Heaven) what do we think? Is it not blaſphemy and a contradiction to ſay, They are the creatures and offſpring of the people? The inference or uſe that I deſigne to draw from this doctrine is this, that as they who contend that all power is derived from the People, would conclude from thence, that the people may call their Governours to an account, or remove them at their pleaſure; or alter the form of Government it ſelf, ſo by the ſame way of argueing, if the power of Kings and other ſupreme

† Non tribuamus dandi regni atque Imperii poteſtatem niſi vero Deo. Ille unus verus Deus: qui nec judicio nec adjutorio deſerit genus humanum, velit & quando quantum voluit Romanis Regnum dedit. Qui dedit Aſſyriis, vel etiam Perſis; qui Mario, ipſe Cajo Cæſari: qui Auguſto, ipſe & Neroni, qui Veſpaſiano vel patri, vel filio ſuaviſſimis Imperatoribus, ipſe & Domitiano crudeliſſimo, & ne per ſingulos ire neceſſe ſit, qui Conſtantino Chriſtiano, ipſe Apoſtatæ Juliano, &c. *Auguſtin. de Civit. Dei, lib. 5. cap. 21.*

ſupreme Magiſtrates be from God, as undoubtedly it is, then it is God only, whoſe Miniſters they are, that can call them to an account, and punish them for the neglect of their duty, which will further more clearly appear in the ſecond thing implied in the character here given to Kings, which is the high Dignity and Sacredneſſe of their Office.

2. As the different degrees & qualities of men which there are in the world, whereby one man is reputed more honourable than another, and which commands an aw and a reſpect from their inferiours, proceed either from names and titles of honour, conferr'd by the favour of the Prince, who is the fountain of honour, or elſe derived to them from the dignity of their birth: ſo God is pleas'd to ſignify the ſupreme honour and dignity which belongs to Kings and the moſt profound reſpect and deference which is to be paid to them, by giveing them his own name, and owning them for his ſons, in a higher degree and upon a more noble account of power and dominion than other mortals, in which reſpect they may be ſaid to be in a larger and a more humble, what is ſpoaken of the natural Son of God in a ſtrict and more lofty ſenſe, *the brightneſſe of the glorie of God, and the expreſſe image of his Perſon.* All the wit of men & Angels could never have found out ſo fit a title to expreſſe *the excellency of dignity and the excellency of power*, which was formerly the Prerogative of the firſt borne, and is now the Prerogative of Kings, & to command the higheſt aw and reverence which is due to their perſons, than that of Gods, nor durſt any mortal have bin ſo bold as to have conferr'd it upon them, if God himſelf had not. Hence it is that God has declared their Perſons to

Heb. 1: 3.

be ſacred & inviolable, & when we ſpeak of them we are taught to ſay, *his ſacred Majeſty*, which is a Title that belongs to them by vertue of their Office & Commiſſion: & he has built a hedge about them, & has threatend, as he once did in relation to the holy mount, that who ever touches them shall die. And this fear, and aw, & reverence which the Kings of King would have to be paid his Vice-gerents by inferiour mortals, is intended to lay a reſtraint not only upon mens outward Actions, but likewiſe upon their moſt ſecret thoughts. (a) *Touch not mine anointed* (ſaies God) *& do my Prophets no harm*, *&* (b) *thou shall not revile the Gods nor ſpeake evil of the Ruler of my people.* And (c) *curſe not the King no not in thy thougt.* And all this holy men of God in all ages have thought it their duty religiouſly to obſerve, when they have had the greateſt provocations & the moſt plauſible pretences to act otherwiſe. If it had bin lawful upon any pretence what ſoever for ſubjects to liſt up their hands againſt their lawful ſoveraignes, David of all men that ever lived had the faireſt plea for it. He had often ventured his life in the ſervice of his Prince & Country: he had fought ſeverall battles with the greateſt ſucceſſe, when the glory of the Victory had bin owing to his ſingle courage, & conduct, & when his only crime was, that the people were ſenſible of his merits, & ſung in their dances, *Saul hath ſlain his thouſands*, *& David his ten thouſands.* For this he falls from his Princes favour, & no means or endeavours left unattempted to take away his life. And then ad to all theſe provocations that he was anointed King himſelf, & ſo might ſeem to be diſcharged from any bonds of duty or allegiance. Nay further providence it ſelf ſeemed to favour the

(a) *Pſal.* 105: 5.
(b) *Exod.* 22: 28.
(c) *Eccleſ.* 10: 20.

the lawfullneſſe of his revenge, and reſiſtance by giveing him ſeveral oportunities at once of freeing himſelf from his enemy and of aſcending the throne, which were all ſo many temptations of Gods ſending on purpoſe to exerciſe and make glorious the vertues of his ſervant, and to recommend him to all poſterity to the end of the world as an example of the moſt invincible patience, ſubmiſſion, & loyalty to his lawfull (thô an unthankful & wicked) Prince: as appears by his behaviour under all the above mentiond circumſtances. He does but cut of the skirt of Sauls garment & his heart preſently ſmites him for it. And when the men that were with him would have had him to have killd Saul, he condemnes the motion as utterly unlawful & tells them, *The Lord forbid that I ſhould do this thing unto my maſter the Lords anointed to ſtretch forth mine hand againſt him ſeeing he is the Lords anointed.* And at another time when Saul and thoſe that were with him were fallen into a dead ſleep from the Lord, and Abiſhai deſired Davids permiſſion to ſmite him with his ſpear, that he would not need to make a ſecond thruſt at him: David ſtrictly commands him not to do it, *Deſtroy him not, for who can ſtretch forth his hand againſt the Lords anointed & be guiltleſſe:* and then he calls to Abner Sauls General, and upbraids him for his negligence that he did not take more care of his maſter. And what did the Amalekite gett for his news that he was the man who had ſlain Saul? After David had teſtified his grief & his abhorrence of the fait, commands the meſſenger to be put to death, becauſe *his own mouth had teſtified againſt him, ſaying I have ſlain the Lords anointed.*

1 *Sam.* 24: 5, 6.

1 *Sam.* 26: 9.

2 *Sam.* 1.

And what was thus taught and practiced concerning

the reverence due to Kings, & the unlawfulneſſe of offering any violence to their perſons, in the Old Teſtament, has bin likewiſe taught and practiced by our Saviour and his Apoſtles in the New, and by the Church of Chriſt for * 600. years at leaſt ſucceſſively without any diſſent or interruptions. *Render unto Cæſar* (ſaies our Saviour) *the things that are Cæſars:* & when he could have commanded more than 12. Legions of Angels to have come to his reſcue, if he had thought reſiſtance lawful, he patiently ſubmits, and acknowledges that Pilate thô a heathen had his power from God. What need I tell you of the Theban Legion ſo renowned in the Hiſtory of the Church, under Maximianus the Emperour, who ſufferd themſelves every man of them to be cut in pieces, rather than to ſacrifice to Idols? None of them offering, in that great advantage which they had of number, ſo much as to lift up his hand, except it was in prayer to God, and all this (it is ſaid) they did according to the Doctrine of Saint Paul: and for the carriage of the Chriſtians under the Apoſtate Julian, who ſtudied all the wayes imaginable to extirpate Chriſtianity out of the world, thô his Armie conſiſted moſt of Chriſtians, yet they had armes for him, but none againſt him, and who by their Prayers & tears: (the only armes allowed a Chriſtian in ſuch caſes) diverted many of his damnable counſels & deſignes.

* *B. Taylor Doctor Dubit. lib. 3. pag. 154.*

Joan. 19.

The Chriſtians of thoſe times had not yet learnt to fight for their Religion, or to enter into Covenants and Aſſociations for the defence of it, or rather under the pretence of Religion to gratify their revenge, covetouſneſſe, or ambition. They were the

the (a) Bishops of Rome that first taught subjects to rebel against their Princes. And from them (b) others who professe to be of another Communion have taken up the same doctrine and practices, and justify (thô upon different principles) the lawfulnesse of excommunicateing, deposeing, and of destroying their Princes, and of disinheriting the right Heir, to preserve their Religion, as if God could not or would not take care of his Church without their wickednesse, who think it (c) *lawful and meritorious to do evil that good may come of it, whose damnation is just.* How far such persons are from being Saints, (and yet they would be thought to be the only Saints) what hath bin already said may be sufficient to satisfy any considering person; and will further appear from what the Apostles every where inculcate concerning the Duty we ow to Kings and other supreme Powers, that it is not only unlawful to resist, and that for consciences sake as well as for wrath or for fear of punishment, but that it is not lawful to speak evil of them; and it is made the character of (d) *those whose judgement of a long time lingreth not, and whose damnation slumbreth not, that they are presumptuous,* (e) *self willed, and are not afraid to speak evil of Dignities: whereas Angels that are greater in power and might bring not a railing accusation against them before the Lord. Nay Michael*

(a) Nos Sanctorum Prædecessorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt Apostolicâ authoritate à juramento absolvimus, &c. *Greg. VII. 15. q. 6. & Urb. II. Episcopo Vapicens.* Juratos milites (inquit) Hugoni Comiti ne ipsi quamdiu excommunicatus est serviant prohibeto. *Et in Decretal. de Hæreticis, cap. 16.* Absolutos se noverint à debito fidelitatis Domini & totius obsequii quicunque lapsis manifestè in hæresin aliquo pacto quacunque firmitate vallato tenebantur obstricti. *Of the effects of this doctrine in the rebellion rais'd against Henry IV. and his deposition and imprisonment by his own Son, at the instigation of Pope Greg. VII. Urban II. and Paschal II. see an account in* Hadr. Saravi. de Imper. Auth. lib. 3. cap. 42. &c. Balæus in vit. Greg. VII. &c. (b) Vid. Judicium & Decretum Univers. Oxon. Julii 21. 1683. contra quosdam pernicioſos libros & Propositiones impias, &c. (c) *Rom.* 3: 8. (d) *Rom.* 13. (e) 1 *Pet.* 2.

chaël the Archangel would not bring a railing accuſation againſt the Devil, but only ſaid, the Lord rebuke thee, becauſe he had once bin a ſpirit of a ſuperiour order. From all which my deſigne is to poſſeſſe you with ſuch dutiful and awful apprehenſions of Kings, and eſpecially of Him whoſe natural born ſubjects you are, ſo as not to ſpeake, or ſo much as to think, and then much leſſe to act any evil againſt him, which the very title that God beſtowes on them in the words does imply and require of you.

3. The third and laſt thing implied in the character of Gods here given to Kings by the Holy Ghoſt, is the benefits of their Government.

As in God we live and move and have our beeing, ſo next under God we ow the ſafety and preſervation of our lives, our liberties, our eſtates, and all the bleſſings we enjoy, together with the free exerciſe of our Religion to the protection and good Government of wiſe and religious Princes. Upon which account moſt of the titles that are given to Kings by the Holy Ghoſt in Scripture are taken from their great uſefulneſſe to the publick. They are call'd *the breath of our noſtrils*, to denote the neceſſary dependance which the welfare of the Subjects has upon their ſafety and preſervation. The phraſe is borrowed from *Geneſ.* 2: 7. where God when he created man is ſaid to have breath'd into his noſtrils the breath of life, and ſo man became a liveing ſoul; which expreſſion as it denotes the original of their power that it is from God, ſo likewiſe the benefits of their Government, that as the natural body without the ſoul and ſpirit is dead, ſo the body politick without the Prince who is the civil head is dead alſo. The head being the foun-

Lam. 4: 20.

fountaine of life, and of all the operations of the ſoul, and communicates life and vigour through the whole body, and to every member of it. There is another tranſlation which renders the phraſe inſtead of *ſpiritus narium* the breath of our noſtrils, *lumen faciei* the light of our countenance which is of the ſame importance with the former, and intimates to us, that as the ſun and other celeſtial bodies by their light and gentle influences impregnate the earth, and revive the drooping face of nature, after their winters abſence at the returne and revolution of the year and ſpring; ſo the Prince like the Sun in the firmament of his glory diffuſes the enlivening beames of his majeſty, to all thoſe who are under the influences of his Government: as the Pſalmiſt expreſſes the dependance of the creatures upon God, *Thou hideſt away thy face, they are troubled, thou takeſt away their breath, they die, and return to their duſt.* *Pſal.* 104: 29. For the ſame reaſon likewiſe of the great uſefulneſſe and neceſſity of Kings and ſupreme Governours to preſerve the peace and welfare of their people, they are call'd, the *shields*, the *barres*, the *foundations*, and the *healers* of a land, as without whom it is impoſſible any nation could be ſupported or preſerved from certaine ruine and deſtruction either by forreigne invaſions or inteſtine commotions. And therefore it was no compliment which the men of David paſt upon him, when they told him, *Thou art worth ten thouſand of us*, in reſpect of the loſſe which the Kingdom was like to ſuffer if he was taken away. And when he was in danger of loſeing his life by one of the Sons of the Giant, and was reſcued by Abishai his Siſters Son, *All the men of David come to him, and ſwear to him, ſaying, Thou ſhalt no more*

Pſal. 47: 9. *Lam.* 2: 9. *Pſal.* 11: 3. *Iſaj.* 3: 7. 2 *Sam.* 18: 3. 2 *Sam.* 21: 17.

more go out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Iſraël.

Nor are we to think that all theſe appellations belong only to good Kings, thô to thoſe in a more eſpecial manner, but even to the worſt that ever raigned, if we compare the benefits of a bad Government, with the miſeries of anarchy and confuſion; of which the ſtate of Rome under Nero, and immediately after his death, is an example beyond all exception, there being more blood of the citizens ſpilt in a few months after Nero was kill'd, than there had bin in all the fourteen years of his raigne. And therefore there cannot a more dreadful judgment befal a people than to be left † without a Head, thô, he be never ſo wicked or cruel; and for every one to be at liberty to do that which is right in his own eyes: for then the weak will certainly become a prey to the ſtrong, and inſtead of one Tyrant, there will be a thouſand: which was ſometimes the unhappy condition of the Jewish Commonwealth, as is obſerved *Jud.* 17: 6. and in other places of that book. *In thoſe dayes there was no King in Iſraël, and every one did that which was right in his own eyes.* And ſo I proceed to the ſecond thing to be conſider'd in the words, viz. the frail condition of Kings, notwithſtanding all their great Prerogatives above other men, they are ſubject to the ſame common lawes of death and mortality with the reſt of mankind. *I have ſaid ye are Gods, and all of you children of the moſt High, but ye ſhall die like men, and fall like one of the Princes.*

† Rege incolumi mens omnibus una, amiſſo rupêre fidem. *Virg. Geor.*

II. Thô Kings are Gods, yet they are but mortal Gods: they are call'd ſo in reſpect of their Office, and not of their nature, which is the ſame with other mens, com-

compounded of the ſame perishable materials, and as liable to the ſtroake of death as the meaneſt of their ſubjects, and in ſome reſpects may be ſaid to be more mortal. They have more enemies, and are expoſed to greater dangers than private perſons. The Hiſtories of all nations abound with examples of Princes who have loſt their lives either in forreigne warres or by the treachery of their own ſubjects.

In the Sacred Story how many of the Kings of Iſraël and Judah do we read of that died a violent death, as Saul, Ahab, Joram, Ahaziah, Amaziah, Joſiah, and many others, and among thoſe ſome that were excellent Princes, as the two laſt mention'd, ſuch as in the ſtile of the Holy Ghoſt, did that which was right in the ſight of the Lord, and yet as David ſpeakes in relation to Saul, without ſome admiration at the wonderful providence of God in ſuffering ſuch things to happen, all theſe fell by the ſword, as *if they had not bin anointed with oyle.* *Dr. Meggot, Serm. upon 30. Jan. pag. 19.*

In the Roman Hiſtory it is to obſerved that of the fourty Emperours between Julius Cæſar and Conſtantine the Great there were but ten that died in their beds, and of theſe that did, not one but was endanger'd by more then one conſpiracy. And the ſame might be obſerved, thô perhaps not in ſo great a proportion, from the Hiſtories of our own and other nations, of which we have a ſad inſtance, yet fresh in the memories of ſome of you who now hear me, I mean the Murder of that incomparable Prince King Charles the Martyr, of glorious and immortal memory. *vid. Hector Boethius.*

But thô Princes may ſometimes eſcape a violent yet they muſt certainly yeeld at laſt to a natural death.

Whats become of all thoſe mighty Monarchs of the Aſſyrian, the Perſian, the Grecian, and Roman Empires, they who ſubdued nations, and obtained the name of great and Conquerours, and made the inhabitants of the earth tremble for the fear of them. All their glory, and their numerous armies were not able to ſecure them from the ſtroak of death.

But what need we go any further for an example that Kings are mortal, than the death of our late moſt gracious Soveraigne of bleſſed memory. If power, if greatneſſe, nay if goodneſſe it ſelf, or if the love and the prayers of his ſubjects could have preſerved him alive, we had ſtill enjoyed the benefits of his happy raign over us, but we did not know how to value the bleſſing of haveing ſuch an excellent Prince, and therefore it was but fit and juſt for God to deprive us of him. When death comes he makes no diſtinction of the great or of the mean, of the honourable or of the vile, of good Princes or of Tyrants, but Crownes and Sceptres muſt give way as well as the ſpade and mattock, and be all tumbled together in one common heap. *For they were all taken out of the ſame earth, and duſt they are, and unto duſt they ſhall return.* *Geneſ.* 3: 19.

But this is ſo plain a truth confirm'd by the univerſal experience of all Nations that Kings muſt die like other men, that none can make any doubt of it, and therefore it may ſeem needleſſe to inſiſt or to put any extraordinary remark upon it. But it is not for nothing that the Holy Ghoſt in the words takes ſuch particular notice of it; for thô nothing be more certain, nor can they be ignorant of it themſelves, that Kings and Princes moſt die, as well as other men, yet they are apt to for-

get

get it, and have more need to be put in mind of it than others. The glories of their ſtate, the adorations which are paid them, the humble addreſſes and ſupplications that are made to them, their great and unaccountable power, and the flatteries of thoſe that are continually about them, do commonly blow them up into a vain and foolish opinion of themſelves; that they begin to think, they are ſomething more than other men; and ſome have bin ſo vain as to believe themſelves to be Gods indeed, and † have commanded that divine honours should be given them by their ſubjects. Alexander's great ſucceſſe and victories made him forget himſelf, and to diſown his true Father, but he muſt be call'd the Son of Jupiter Hammon, and would rather bring a ſcandal upon his Mother (which * she reſents in a letter to him) than not have the reputation of being deſcended from a God, and to be thought a God himſelf. Some ſuch lofty thoughts Nebuchadnezzar muſt have had of himſelf, when he walkt in the Palace of the Kingdome of Babylon, and diſcourſed thus to himſelf: *Is not this great Babylon that I have made for the houſe of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majeſty?* And had not Herod the ſame extravagant opinion of himſelf, when he was arayed in his royal Apparel, and was ſate upon his Throne, and made an oration to the people, and they gave a shout, ſaying, *It is the voice of a God and not of a man.* And did not the event show that he was well pleas'd with the acclamation, for immediately the Angel of the Lord ſmote him, *becauſe he gave not God the glory, and he was eaten up of wormes.*

† *Suetonius in the life of Caligula.* Templum Numini ſuo proprium, & Sacerdotes, & excogitatiſſimas hoſtias inſtituit, &c.

* *Inter Epiſtolas mundi Procerum.*

Dan. 4: 30.

Act. 12: 21.

There are innumerable examples of the like nature to

be mett with in Hiſtory, which showes the great need that Princes have to be put in mind of their mortality, therefore it is recorded to the immortal praiſe of Philip King of Macedon, who by being ſenſible of his mortality shewed himſelf a much wiſer man than his Son Alexander in deſireing to be thought a God, that he orderd one to come every morning to his bed, and to call out to him three times, *Philippe, homo es*, Philip remember thou art a man: and the Pſalmiſt prayes to God to put the Heathen in mind that they may know themſelves to be but men.

Aelian. Hiſtor. lib. 8. cap. 15.

The conſideration that Princes are mortal as well as other men will afford ſeveral uſeful inferences in relation to themſelves and others.

1. In relation to themſelves, to ſtirre them up to conſider whoſe Miniſters they are, and that thó they are not accountable to their ſubjects for their good or ill Government, yet they muſt give an account thereof to the great judge of the world. On the one hand they have the certaine expectation of the judgment of God to deterre them from doing any thing contrary to their duty or to the lawes of God; for there is no reſpect of perſons with God, but Kings as well as others muſt appear before the judgement ſeat of Chriſt, to give an account of the things which they have don in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil; and if they have don ill, they shall no more be favour'd than the meaneſt ſinner, but the greatneſſe of their quality will expoſe them to a proportionable degree of punishment, for *mighty offenders*, ſaies the wiſe Man, *shall be mightily tormented:* and *Tophet is ordained of old*, ſaies the Prophet, *yea for the King it is prepared, he hath made it deep*

Wiſd. 6: 6.

Iſaj. 30: 33.

deep and large, the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord like a ſtream of brimſtone ſhall kindle it. And as the conſideration of death and mortality ought to ſtrike a terrour into evill Princes, ſo it affords matter of joy and comfort to the good, for *when they die they reſt from their labours, and their works follow them.* Then will all their cares, and their troubles, the plots and the conſpiracies which have bin carrying on againſt them while they were in the world, be at an end; and the good they have don, as it is of a more univerſall concern, than can come within the ſphere of private Perſons, ſo it ſhall be rewarded with a proportionable degree of Happineſſe. They ſhall as farre outſhine others in glory hereafter, as they were placed above others in dignity here: and thó they are taken from a corruptible and tranſitory crown, they ſhall receive an incorruptible crown in the place thereof, a crown that fadeth not away, eternal in the heavens. Rev. 14: 13.

2. The Conſideration that Kings are mortal may be of uſe to other perſons of an inferiour quality. I. The death of Kings ought to put us in mind of our own mortality, that if God ſpare not thoſe whom he is pleaſed to honour with his own name, & whom he has declared to be the ſons of the moſt High, & who enjoy ſo many great Priviledges & Prerogatives above other men, how can we think he will ſpare us, who in compariſon of his Vicegerents may be ſaid to be wormes and no men? And if we are continually mindful of our latter end, then the conſequence will be, *we ſhall never do amiſſe.*

II. From the frail & mortal Condition of Kings we may learn not to put our truſt in any thing this world

can afford. All the benefits or advantages we enjoy or can expect from them, are but for their lives at the longest, which are of as short and uncertain a continuance as other mens, and therefore the Psalmist exhorts us not to put our trust in Princes or in any child of man, for there is no help in them: and further, if Kings must die, and leave all their Glory behind them what reason can any man have to be fond or proud of his honours or his riches, or of any other earthly enjoyments and satisfactions, which he holds by no other title than only dureing the plesure of the Donour. For when the greatest King dies, (and die he must and how soon no body can tell)

Psal. 49: 17. *he shall carry nothing away with him, his glory shall not descend after him, thô whiles he lived he blessed himself, and he was well pleas'd to hear himself praised. He shall go to the generation of his fathers, & shall never see light. Man that is in honour and understandeth not, is like the beasts that perish.*

3. The consideration that Kings must die as well as other men, affords matter of comfort to those who live under the Government of Tyrants and Persecu-

Heb. 11. tours. Thô the *plowers plow upon their backs and make long furrowes*, thô they are not sufferd to enjoy the benefit of the law, or the free exercise of their Religion, thô their case be the same with that of the primitive Saints, that they are forced *to wander about in sheep skins, and goat skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, wandering in deserts, and in mountaines, and in dens and caves of the earth*; yet this is not like to continue alwayes. God will not suffer their persecutours to raigne and triumph for ever, they must die and then all their malice and fury ceases; and then it will be their turn who were persecuted for righteousnesse sake to rejoyce, and the world shall

shall lament; and then shall the *Righteous be glad when he ſeeth the vengeance, he shal wash his feet in the blood of the ungodly and then shal all men ſay, verily there is a reward for the richteous, doubtleſſe there is a God that judgeth the earth.*

III. I am now come to the laſt part of the words, which comprehends the duty of ſubjects to their Princes in praying for them, implyed in the laſt verſe, *Ariſe ô God, judge the earth for thou shalt inherit all nations.* In the former part of this Pſalm to the fourth verſe we find the Pſalmiſt cenſureing the faults of wicked Magiſtrates, and withall teaching them their duty, and verſ. 5. he ſeemes to deſpair of working any good upon them, and therefore after he had minded them of their mortality and that they muſt shortly give an account of their rule and Government to the juſt Judge of the world, he addreſſes himſelf to God in prayer, that he would take the Government into his own hands, that he would rectify what is amiſſe in it, that he would preſide over all publick debates and counſels, and that he would diſpoſe and turn the hearts of Kings and all that are in authority, as it shal ſeem beſt to his godly Wiſdom: and the reaſon of this prayer is given in the latter part of the verſe, becauſe to God properly belong all the Kingdomes of the earth, & that therefore we ought to addreſſe our ſelves to him, either to appoint only ſuch to rule over his people as are after his own heart, and will ſeek his honour and glory, or that he would in his own good time make them ſuch who are otherwiſe. And that this is the duty of all ſubjects towards their Governours whether they are Heathen or Chriſtian, whether good or bad, we are taught both by the Prophet and

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the Apoſtle. *Jer.* 29: 7. when the people of Iſraël were in Captivity under heathenish Maſters in a forreigne country, they are commanded by God, *Seek the peace of the City whether I have commanded you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the place thereof ſhall ye have peace.* And 1 Tim. 2: 1. *I exhort therefore* (ſaies the Apoſtle) *that firſt of all ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giveing of thanks be made for all men, for Kings and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godlineſſe and honeſty.* In the former inſtance we ſee the Jewes are commanded to pray for thoſe that had carried them away captive, and in the latter the Chriſtians of thoſe dayes are exhorted to pray for tyrants, and perſecutours, for ſuch were they who at that time governed the Roman empire, from whence it is eaſy to inferre, what is the duty of Chriſtians at all times and in all places, and under what ever Government they live. If it be their happineſſe to live under the Government of a juſt, a wiſe and a merciful Prince, then they are under all the obligations in the world of gratitude, duty and intereſt to pray for the continuance of his raigne over them: but if falls out otherwiſe and God is pleas'd to ſcourge them for their offences by ſetting a tyrant and a perſecutour to rule over them. It is ſtill their duty to pray for him, that God would turn his heart, and turn from them all thoſe evils, and judgmens which they ſmart under, and which their ſins have moſt righteouſly deſerved, and that by reſtoreing to them thoſe bleſſings of peace and the publick profeſſion of Religion which they had formerly abus'd or undervalued, he would once more truſt them with an opportunity of liveing like his people.

In

In this whole Pſalme which is chiefly directed to evil Magiſtrates, nor in any other place of Scripture, we hear not one word of reſiſtance in caſe the ſupreme Magiſtrate did not do his duty. Here is no appeal to the Senate, or to the inferiour Magiſtrate, or to the body of the common people for redreſſe of grievances or for the reformation of Religion, or to punish the offender. If the ſupreme Magiſtrate neglects his duty, or acts beyond his commiſſion, he offends againſt none but God, and is accountable to no other, let his crimes be never ſo great or never ſo many. (a) *Againſt thee, thee only have I ſinned*, ſaies the Royal Prophet, when he had committed two grievous ſins, adultery and murder. And it is ſufficient that God whoſe vicegerent he is will call him to an account and punish him, if he does any thing amiſſe: with this conſideration David reſtraind ſome from killing Saul, who only wanted his leave to have don it, (b) *As the Lord liveth, the Lord ſhall ſmite him, or his day ſhall come to die, or he ſhall deſcend into battle and perish, but the Lord forbid that I ſhould ſtretch forth my hand againſt the Lords anointed.*

The duty of ſubjects whether conſider'd jointly or ſeverally is to obey in all things lawful, and wherein they cannot obey without offering violence to their conſcience, to ſuffer. In all caſes they muſt needs be ſubject not only for wrath but conſcience ſake. They muſt not only ſubmit when it is not in their power to make reſiſtance (which (c) Bellarmine and ſome others impu-

(a) *Pſalm.* 51: 4. Tibi ſoli peccavi, Rex enim eram, &c. *Hieron. ad Reſt. t. 1. pag.* 224. & *Arnob. ad Pſalmum* 50. Omnis qui ſub jugo vivit, cum deliquerit peccat Deo, peccat & legibus mundi; hic autem Rex ſub nullo alio, niſi ſub ſolo Deo agens, ipſum ſolum ſuper poteſtatem ſuam metuens ſoli Deo peccavit. *Sic Chryſoſt. Ambroſ. &c.*

(b) 1 *Sam.* 26: 10. (c) Nos contrà dicimus (*inquit Bellarm.*) eos (id eſt, Infideles & Hæreticos Principes) fuiſſe toleratos, propterea quod ad eos dejiciendos vires Eccleſiæ non ſuppetebant, cum Tertullianus ſcribit, ſuo tempore (id eſt, ſub Ethnicis & perſecutoribus Principibus) fuiſſe Chriſtianos *omni bello idoneos, nec iis vim* numerorum & copiarum defuiſſe. Et addit, *numeroſiores fuiſſe Mauris & Marcomannis atque adeò Parthis.* Tertull. Apol. cap. 37. Vid. Barcl. Vind. pro Reg. cap. 20.

impudently, and traiterouſly affirm to have bin the caſe of the primitive Chriſtians) but becauſe ſubmiſſion is a duty of the evangelical Religion, and there is a promiſe of an extraordinary great reward to thoſe who are perſecuted for righteouſneſſe ſake, and we ought to be glad of the opportunity, and to account it an honour that we are thought *worthy not only to believe on Chriſt, but alſo to ſuffer for his name. Rejoyce and be exceeding glad,* ſaies our Saviour, *for great is your reward in Heaven.*

Philipp. 1: 29. *March.* 5.

All the remedy that is allowed us under the worſt of Tyrants is to have our recourſe to God, to make our complaint to him, and after the example of our great Maſter to pray for our perſecutours, and to *commit ourſelves to him who judgeth righteouſly, for he has left us an example that we should follow his ſteps, who when he was reviled, reviled not againe, when he ſufferd he threatend not, but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly.*

1 *Pet.* 2: 21.

If God did not take care of the world, and inſpire the hearts of Kings with wiſdome and other neceſſary qualifications for their moſt weighty employment, we should be but in a miſerable condition: as the Emperour Maximilian us'd to ſay of himſelf and Pope Julius the ſecond. *Deus æterne, niſi vigilares, quàm malè eſſet mundo, quem regimus nos, ego miſer venator & ebrioſus ille ac ſceleratus Julius.* O eternal God, if thou didſt not keep watch over us, how ill would it be with the world, which we two governe, I who am a miſerable hunter, and that drunken and profligate wretch Julius? Let us but be careful to diſcharge our duty to God and his anointed, and we need not fear but things will be orderd for the beſt. It is God who judgeth the earth and who inherits all nations, and there is nothing comes to paſſe without his ordering

ordering, nor is it in any man's power to hinder what he has ordered from coming to paſſe. Let us give thoſe leave to govern whom God has ſett over us; as they ſhall think fit, and as God ſhall direct their hearts; all that we have to do, is to ſubmit and to pray to God for them, and therefore I ſhall conclude with that exellent prayer of our Church for the King, in the communion ſervice, and deſire you to joyne with me in it, which is ſet down in theſe words: *Almighty God, whoſe Kingdom is everlaſting and power infinit, have mercy upon the whole Church and ſo rule the heart of thy choſen ſervant James our King and Governour, that he knowing whoſe Miniſter he is, may above all things ſeek thy honour and glory: and that we and all his ſubjects duely conſidering whoſe authority he hath, may faithfully ſerve, honour and humbly obey him in thee and for thee, according to thy bleſſed word and ordinance, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghoſt be aſcribed as is moſt due all praiſe, honour and glory now and for ever,* AMEN.

FINIS.

BIRMINGHAM REFERENCE

ERRATA.

THe Reader is desired to correct the following faults, which either alter the sense or render it unintelligible, and which will the more easily be excus'd, when it is consider'd that the Authour was absent, and the persons employ'd about the presse were strangers to the language.

Page 5. line 10. for *to* read *which*. p. 6. last line save one, and in other places, for *saids* read *saies*. p. 8. l. 26. for *preached* read *practiced*, and last line save one of the same page, for *but* read *bin*. p. 9. l. 7. read *parted*. p. 10. l. 14. for *but it is* read *but is it?* p. 11. last line save one read *antient Government*. p. 12. after *genus humanum* read *quando velit & quantum velit*. p. 14. l. 19. for *list* read *lift*. p. 15. last line save 4. for *fait* read *fact*. p. 21. l. 16. read *not without some admiration*. p. 24. l. 17. read *are not accountable*.

There are other smaller faults, as where the plural number is put for the singular, and one vowel for another, which may easily be perceived, and therefore are not thought considerable enough to be taken notice of.

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